

SPRIT OF THE PRESS.

EDITORIAL OPINIONS OF THE LEADING JOURNALS UPON CURRENT TOPICS—COMPILED EVERY DAY FOR THE EVENING TELEGRAPH.

SENTIMENT VERSUS ACTION—MR. SUMNER AND THE ENGLISH PRESS.

From the N. Y. Times. The English press seems to us to have fallen into the same error in regard to Mr. Sumner's speech that our people did in regard to the pro-Southern speeches delivered by prominent Englishmen in the British Parliament during the late civil war.

Under a despotic or purely aristocratic government, such men are kept silent by the responsibilities of their position or by the orders of a superior power; and when they do speak, their words are justly supposed to mean almost as much as actions.

We fall sometimes into the same impression when the statesmen of constitutional governments utter sentiments and frame arguments in strong opposition to the views of a rival government. Thus, during the Rebellion, when Earl Russell said openly that "the North was struggling for empire and the South for independence," when Mr. Gladstone, in a public address, spoke of Mr. Jefferson Davis "as having formed a nation," when Mr. Roebuck uttered the famous "ram's head" speech against the Union, and Mr. Laird was cheered by an immense majority for his connection with the equipment of the Rebel rams, great numbers of nervous and excitable people here rushed to the conclusion that Great Britain was about to recognize the South and break the blockade.

But with all popular governments there is a vast chasm between sentiment and action. English statesmen were ready to recognize the North; the press was crammed with abuse; the Parliamentary orators argued with point and vigor against the cause of the Union; but when it came to putting all this excitement into legislative action, when the time for recognizing the rams was up, or that of recognizing the blockade, no open step was ever taken by the British Government.

Mr. Charles Sumner, who may be described without invidiousness as the rhetorician of the Republican party, has recently, in his position as Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate, delivered a long and stirring indictment against the British Government. He undoubtedly expresses in it the sentiment of three-fourths of the masses of the nation; he may express the feeling of General Grant and his administration; but for the public to suppose, as the British press seem to do, that an oratorical statement is to be the basis of negotiations, or to be followed by legislative or governmental action corresponding, seems to us in the highest degree puerile.

Mr. Sumner's oration, however, is not a feeling, or the prejudices of the masses of the country, who have nothing to do with Mr. Motley's negotiation, or any overt action of the administration, or any public proceeding looking towards peace or war. The chasm between Mr. Sumner's oration and the action of the Government is wider than the ocean. General Grant or Secretary Fish are not the kind of men to let sentiment run away with them. And if they were, the nation has a great ballast of common sense and Christian feeling to keep them from being hurried into any rash or impetuous course of prejudice.

He is not, even, from the character of his mind and the course of his studies, the best authority of his country on questions of international law. The people generally are no more ripe for war with Great Britain than they have been for the last eight years. Mr. Sumner's oration has made no change in popular feeling. His indictment is frequently considered exaggerated and the bill of costs absurd. Its value as the effort of a statesman may be measured by the fact that, if the Government of England acted according to the feeling it has universally called out there, we should not get a penny of damages or a breath of apology.

The rejection of the treaty is indeed quite another matter, and is to be judged entirely on its own merits, and not from the rhetoric of the Senator. Its worst effect—and we hold that to be most important for both nations—is to place the Alabama question in the limbo of unsettled questions for a generation to come.

DANGERS OF THE FINANCIAL SITUATION.

From the N. Y. World. During the war, everybody who had any reputation for judgment or sagacity was agreed that the prodigious expenditures of that period of waste and destruction would be followed by widespread financial disaster and distress. Mr. Bright in his speeches abroad, Mr. Chase in his reports at home—persons asilly as the croakers or alarmists of anybody in Europe or America—expressed this opinion with great positiveness and emphasis. We have gone on four years since the close of the war, and apparently their gloomy predictions have been belied by the event. The cost of living has indeed risen high; but there has been no great revulsion in trade, no great stoppage of industry, no panic. We have kept the wheels of business moving with more or less efficiency and success, until the country has concluded that, although we have danced a jig after all, no very serious matter to pay the fiddler. But abundant signs begin to thicken upon us that the predicted evil day has not been averted, but only postponed. At last, we are apparently on the eve of paying the heavy penalties of a gigantic war. By what means have the consequences of our prodigious expenditures been so long postponed? The answer is not difficult; the evil day has been put off by the ordinary resource of prodigals—borrowing. The process of borrowing has been disguised under the delusive fancy that the selling bonds to Europe to meet our current debts, we have been exporting real values—exporting property. But it is too obvious for argument that we have been merely exchanging one form of indebtedness for another. The bonds have got to be paid, just as much as the heavy debts for imported goods would have to be paid if the bonds had not been sent out of the country to adjust the balances. The only difference is that, by means of the bonds, the time of payment is postponed.

have been exported to pay the interest on the bonds already in the hands of foreigners. We have thus been accumulating debt upon debt, paying old debt by the easy method of incurring new ones. It ought to have been evident throughout this pleasant process, that it could not last. As we had ceased to manufacture bonds, as the supply, enormous as it was, was limited, this mode of dodging present payment and piling up future liabilities to foreigners was destined to end. While it has lasted, we have been in the habit of paying a high rate of interest plus exorbitant, ruinous "charges."

We must pay not only the regular six per cent., but must pay a full hundred dollars for every hundred dollar bond which we have sold to foreigners for seventy or eighty dollars. And the current interest on the bonds is not the nominal six per cent. When we receive only sixty-six dollars for a hundred dollar six per cent. bond, the rate of interest which we really pay is not six per cent., but nine, besides the cost of the thirty-cent dollar in the final settlement. For the last four years, we have been incurring heavy debts to Europe on these ruinous terms; continuing to export bonds to meet our current debts and to pay the accruing interest on the heavy amounts of bonds already not paid.

We are nearly at the end of our tether in this career of debt and extravagance. Now, when the supply of bonds for exportation is getting exhausted, Mr. Boutwell comes into the market as a purchaser of bonds, at the rate of fifty or sixty dollars. He not only checks the ebullient exportation, sends up the price of gold, and spreads anxiety and alarm through business circles by raising the inquiry how we are hereafter to meet the claims of our foreign creditors. When the exportation of bonds stops, what are we to do abroad? The semi-annual interest can then be no longer paid by the exportation of other bonds. The balances against us in our international trade can then be no longer met by the exportation of bonds. Then will we have to pay the gloomy dawning of pay day. The interest on the exported bonds will have to be paid in something. Our importations of foreign goods will have to be paid in something. When the bonds, having risen to par, are returned upon our market and sold, we must send back their value in something. What will that something be? Gold, while our small stock of gold lasts; but that will be soon exhausted.

What then? What then? We submit the question to thoughtful men who have sufficient discernment of the signs in the sky to forecast the coming storm. We submit it to the crazy tariff men and inflationists who have rendered it impossible that we should manufacture anything to export. We submit it to the revengeful radical destructives who have kept the South disorganized these four years, and prevented the flow of capital into that section to revive the cultivation of its great staples, which are our chief articles of export. With regard to this process of paying foreign debts by the exportation of bonds, we are manifestly near the beginning of the end.

A STORM BREWING—THE PRESS OF THE COUNTRY AND GENERAL GRANT.

From the N. Y. Herald. The crowds are rising. The heavens are becoming black. The rumbling of distant thunder is being heard. A storm is brewing. It is the storm of popular sentiment in regard to General Grant. The press of the country is the barometer of public opinion. It indicates whether the political atmosphere is fair or foul, genial or tempestuous. That press is now either silently dissenting or flashing in fury. The radical press is typical of the one, the Democratic press of the other. While the former either preserves a studied silence or utters unfriendly words in regard to the President, the latter does not cease to attempt to conceal his hostility to Grant and his administration, and is using every effort in its power to make both unpopular. What is the meaning of all this? Does it mean that the affections of the people of the United States are becoming alienated from the man who but a few months since was their idol? That they are becoming estranged from the hero who, as the leader of their armies, saved this country from political annihilation? Unpleasant as the truth may be, we are obliged to confess that this does actually seem to be the case.

Now, as we, of our pure friendship, and with a profound feeling of gratitude for his having triumphantly closed the Rebellion, advocated General Grant's election to the Presidency as a partial reward for his unparalleled services, so now we, with equally as sincere a desire for his success as a statesman as that he achieved as a warrior, earnestly urge him to arouse himself from the lethargy that seems to have fallen upon General Grant since he assumed the Presidential office. We would not have appeared in our columns. But, unfortunate and humiliating as it was, it was important as affording an index of the manner in which business is transacted at the White House. As Mr. Sumner said, General Grant should remember that the Executive mansion is not a military camp, and that we are living in a state of peace, not in a state of war; and furthermore, that when gentlemen call at the White House on official business, they are to be treated with the respect due an American citizen in his own household, and not with petty insolence and churlish vulgarity. Hence, in view of all these drawbacks and obstacles to his successful career in civil life, we pray that General Grant will listen to the suggestions of our approaching storm, and by timely and sagacious reforms either produce a reaction, or prepare to protect himself from its direful effects when it bursts.

What is the true policy? Is it enough that the President should be the more creature of Congress? Does not the country, does not his office, require of him the initiative in great measures when the opportunity invites him to action? Is he not expected to assume the responsibility, like Jackson and Lincoln, in extraordinary cases, without express authority of law? Is he not expected to give shape and direction to the legislation of Congress itself in shaping out the general policy of his administration? These questions carry with them each their own answer. Nor can it be denied that in the Cabinet General Grant has had and had opportunities before him for distinction as enduring as Vicksburg, Chattanooga, or the Wilderness among his achievements in the field. The President, like the General, who risks nothing, accomplishes nothing. General Grant may eclipse the popularity in his office of Lincoln by resolute action, or he may sink into the glorious record of Buchanan by masterly inactivity. For an active, decisive, progressive policy we want a new Grant, and a new departure; but the policy indicated so far by General Grant signifies nothing.

Under this policy there is no call for a change of the Cabinet. When nothing is to be done but the routine business of the peace establishment, one Cabinet is as good as another, and that could be substituted. Even in this matter, then, we see something of the military sagacity of General Grant. And why should he change his Cabinet, any how, in the absence of Congress? He is not going out of his way to offend the Senate. He wants peace. Let us, therefore, have peace; but let it be a peace in the true and proper acceptance of the word—peace, broad and comprehensive at home, and dignified before the world abroad. A peace of this character can scarcely be expected by the nation at the hands of General Grant, who, no matter what his services in war, has proved that he does not completely embrace the large and varied interests of the country in the peace administration. Views, evidently assuming that he has discharged his duty acceptably by the

appointment of a negro as our representative in Guatemala. This is not the sort of peace which we require. The American people, in a peaceful attitude, want an adjustment of pending foreign questions. They want a settlement of the Alabama claims; they want full reparation and indemnification for the injury inflicted on our commerce through the jealousy of England in a moment of national peril; they want an assertion of our commercial position on the ocean and the vindication of the prestige of the country on the continent of Europe. Can General Grant insure such results? Will he do so? They cannot certainly be obtained by his present policy, if he has a policy. They cannot be attained by doing nothing. Mere appointments to place will not satisfy the people. General Grant will soon learn this important fact. Will he, then, do something and need not show to the world that it is not necessary that the leader of armies in the field should prove a failure when in the executive chair of a country?

JACOB THOMPSON.

From the N. Y. Tribune. The day should have been sad but auspicious when that old man, Jacob Thompson, returned to his home in Mississippi, not long ago. Wind and wave of the stormiest politics we have ever known in our country, had blown him away from his moorings; years spent in iron-hearted contumaciousness to the best means of putting the iron into our souls had separated him from the tenderest associations of his life; wanderings to and fro in the earth seeking what he might devour of royalty and patriotism had made him a sadder and slower man; and at last he needed to show to the friends of his youth. There is something touching and even tragic as Mr. Carlyle would say, in this return of Jacob Thompson. Like Mr. Rogers' old man, he had been long wandering here and there, "in quest of something," something he could not find—he knew not what. Perhaps it was the Union of our fathers. 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